

THE DATE AND ARRANGEMENT
OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS
IN THE RABBULA GOSPELS

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TWO recent publications have greatly facilitated the study of the illustrations in the famous Syriac Gospel book preserved in the Biblioteca Laurenziana as Pluteus I, number 56. There is an excellent color facsimile published by the Urs Graf Verlag,¹ and an extensive discussion by the Abbé Jules Leroy in his monumental handbook of Syriac illustrated manuscripts.² These authors touch upon two interrelated questions: Are the miniatures to be dated with the text to the year 586? Are they in their original order? The authors have objections and doubts on both issues, but unfortunately they have neglected to present certain essential facts about the physical arrangement of the gatherings of parchment on which the book was written. As far as I can see both these questions should be answered in the affirmative,³ but the evidence is not immediately conclusive and needs to be examined carefully.

In the following diagram of the first two gatherings of parchment the original leaves are shown as heavy lines, and one added flyleaf (which is old but not original) is shown as a light line.⁴ Heavy broken lines indicate my proposed restoration of the original arrangement of the manuscript. The recto side of each leaf is identified as the hair side or flesh side by the appropriate initial. What is now the second gathering (folios 15–19), an addition on paper generally dated to the twelfth century, is omitted. To avoid making the diagram too confusing I omit also the various strips of relatively modern parchment which have been used to reinforce folios 4–9 at the crease, and those which have been used as tabs to collect into smaller gatherings the other folios, now separated from the folios with which they were originally conjoint.⁵

¹ Carlo Cecchelli, Giuseppe Furlani and Mario Salmi, *The Rabbula Gospels* (Olten-Lausanne, 1959). Unfortunately, from the point of view of codicology and for the study of the texts the descriptions of the manuscript are quite inadequate. For notes on the very good color reproductions, see my Appendix *infra*.

² Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures*, Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, LXXVII (Paris, 1964), 139–97.

³ Most art historians have assumed an affirmative answer to the first question and have ignored the second, but Jean Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris-Brussels, 1926), 81, remarked in passing that he considered the script and parchment of the separate gathering of illustrations different from that of the text and to be dated not before the tenth or eleventh century. Edgard Blochet, *Les enluminures des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1926), 52, dated the miniatures to the eleventh century on the basis of the script which accompanies them. Frédéric Macler, "Raboula-Mlqê," *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), II, *Art*, 81–97, suggested vaguely that the miniatures have been misbound and date from different periods; although his discussion is very superficial his reproductions of certain text pages remain the only ones available.

⁴ I should like to express my special thanks first to the authorities of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana who permitted me to make the detailed study here reported, and second to Dom Jean Gribomont, O. S. B., of San Girolamo, Rome, who very generously examined the manuscript to verify the lacunae in the text. Some of these are not recorded in the critical edition by Philip E. Pusey and George H. Gwilliam, *Tetraevangelium Sanctum iuxta simplicem Syrorum versionem* (Oxford 1901), where the Rabbula Gospels is only intermittently cited as no. 26.

⁵ In the modern binding the flyleaf and folios 1–3 are made into a separate gathering by being glued to modern strips of parchment, folios 10 and 11 are made into a separate bifolium, and folios 12–14 are grouped together.

The amount of text missing at the beginning is enough to have filled two folios, leaving room for no more than a simple title comparable to those found at the beginning of each of the subsequent gospels.⁶ The text missing between folios 25 and 26 would again fill two folios, which must have been conjoint with those missing at the beginning of the gospel. This first gathering of text was therefore a quinion, as normal in early Syriac manuscripts. The following gatherings continue as quinions, with the hair side out, in almost perfect regularity. Each gathering was signed in the lower right corner of the first page, beginning on folio 26^r with the number 2, but a few of the signatures have been lost or damaged. Folios 66–74 actually form a quinion because two successive leaves have been numbered 68. Folios 183–191 originally formed a quinion but one leaf, with Luke 12:33–46, has been lost between folios 187 and 188. Folios 232–243 also form a quinion, but in the modern foliation the numbers 236 and 242 were omitted.

The only original irregularity in size of gathering before the end of the book is one quaternion (folios 135–142, where there is no lacuna in the text); this is the last gathering in Mark, and it is possible that the scribe planned to finish that text with this gathering and start a new gathering for Luke, but if so he miscalculated, for the text of Mark required virtually the whole of folio 143^r and Luke begins only on folio 143^v.⁷ As far as I can tell there is only one sheet in the entire manuscript folded so as to have the flesh side outside: the bifolium 146/149 next to the middle of the gathering folios 143–152. This irregularity was presumably an accident. At the end of the manuscript three leaves have been lost, as shown on page 202.

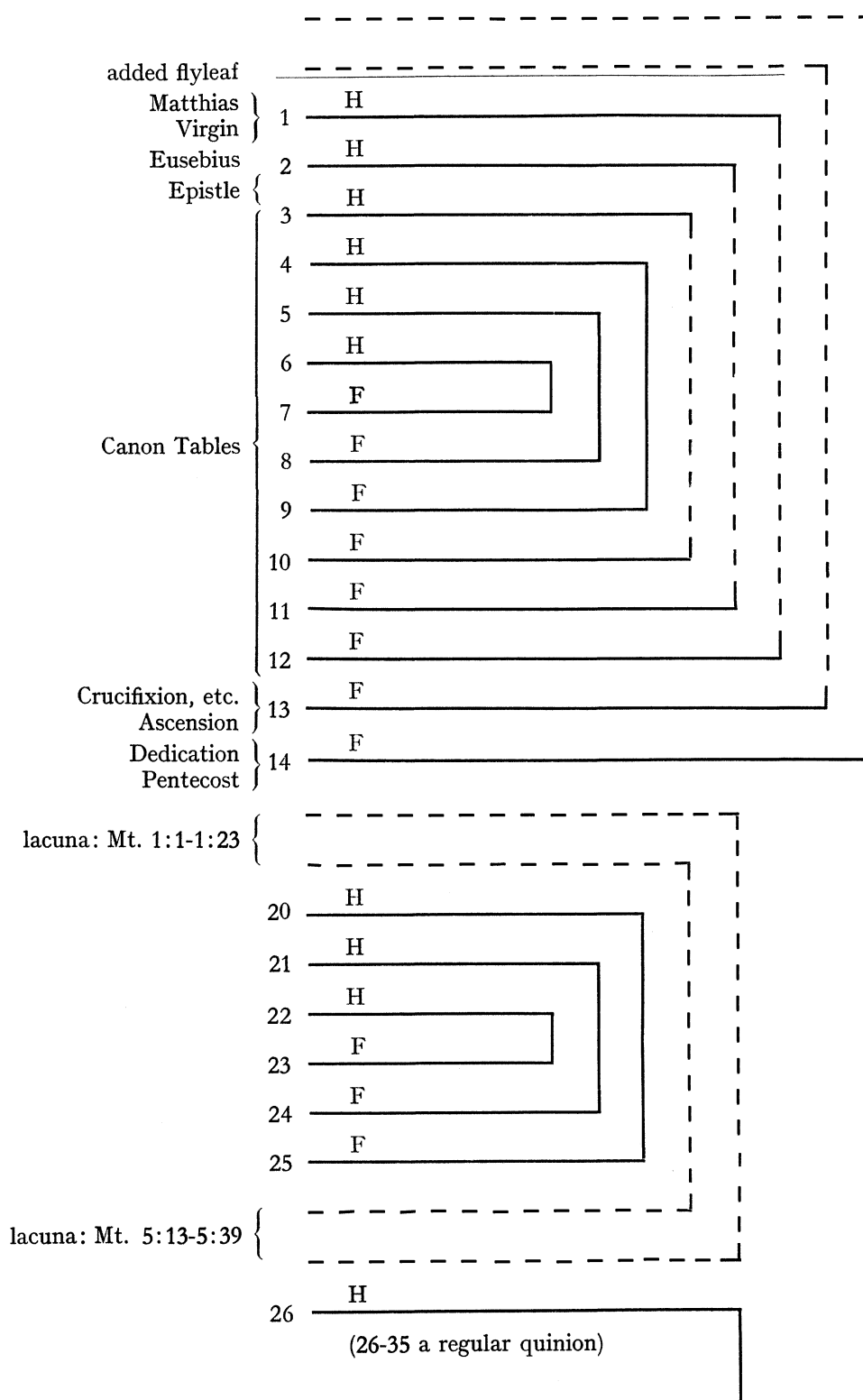
The text of John ends on folio 291^v and is followed by a relatively long *explicit* formula; the famous colophon about the making of the manuscript begins on folio 292^r and ends in the middle of the first column of folio 292^v. It appears, therefore, that, although a normal quinion would have been sufficient for the text and colophon, the scribe deliberately used a sexternion, allowing two blank leaves at the end of the book, one a flyleaf for added protection and the other to be pasted into the binding. This may be what is referred to at the end of the colophon where an anathema is applied to anyone who “cuts from it some folio written or not written.”⁸ That the blank leaves should eventually disappear was virtually inevitable; the second one was presumably lost with the original binding. The replacement flyleaf now attached to folio 292 is moderately old parchment similar to the replacement flyleaf in front of folio 1.

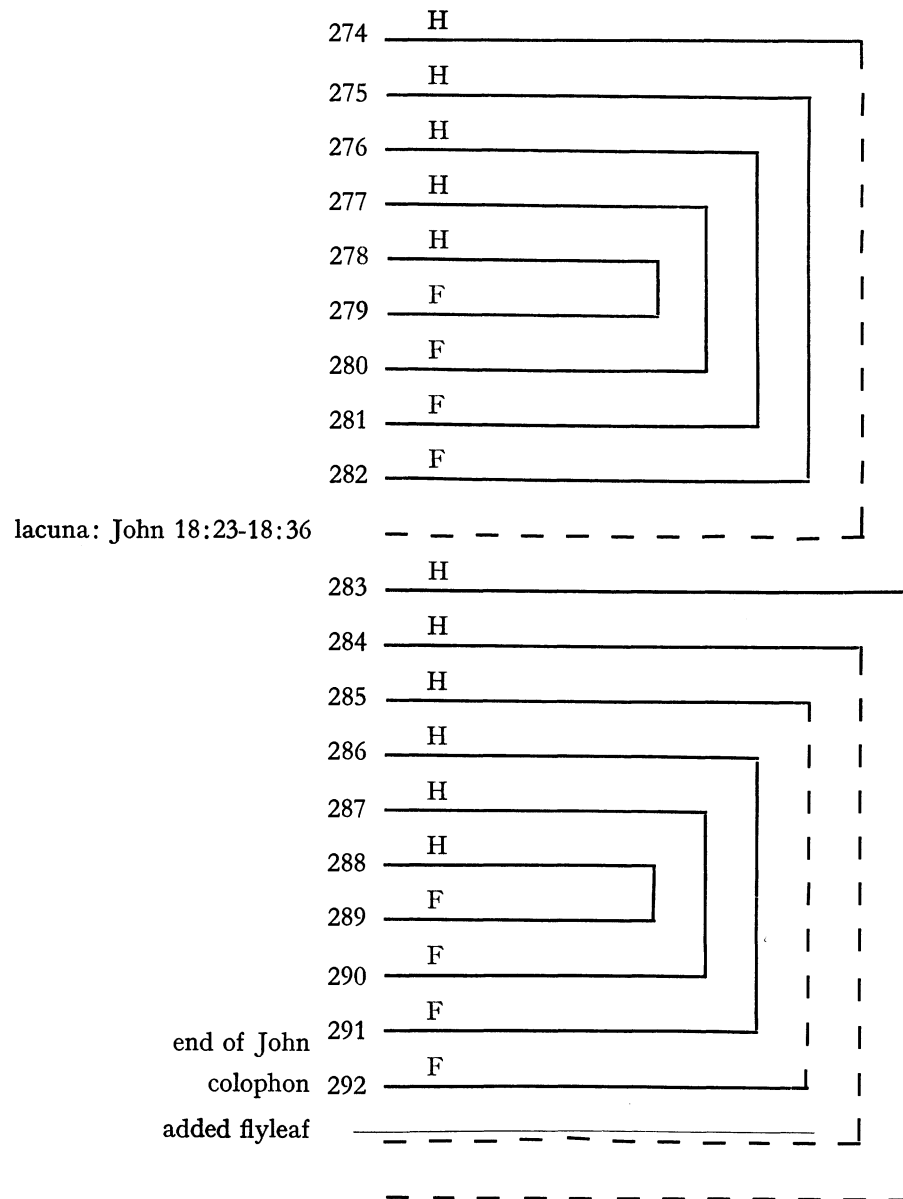
The first gathering must have had a similar arrangement, with two blank leaves in front of the first surviving illustration. This meant a gathering of eight leaves, or sixteen folios, which is certainly unusual, but this conclusion is inevitable. The three inner leaves (folios 4–9) have been reinforced in modern

⁶ These very simple colophons are illustrated by Macler (*op. cit.*, figs. 2–5) and transcribed and translated by Furlani (*The Rabbula Gospels*, 17–18).

⁷ Macler, *op. cit.*, figs. 3 and 4.

⁸ Furlani, *op. cit.*, 21; Leroy, *op. cit.*, 155; cf. *infra*, note 15.





times but they are still conjoint. The order of the texts is certain for folios 2 through 12, and since all the folios 1 through 6 have the hair side on the recto they must all have been in the first half of a gathering; all the folios 7–14 have the flesh side on the recto and therefore must have been in the second half of a gathering. Folios 2 and 3 must therefore have been conjoint with folios 10 and 11. Folio 12 must have been conjoint with some folio in the first half of the gathering. It would be possible to consider folios 1, 13, and 14 part of a different gathering which had lost one leaf in its first half, but in fact the present order is confirmed both by many old offsets of pigment and by the iconography of the illustrations. Thus, there are many large offsets from folio 1^v onto folio 2^r at the top of the page, and some from folio 2^r onto folio 1^v; among these the beginning of the addition in the bottom margin of folio 2^r (which is dated 1460)⁹ seems to have blotted on folio 1^v when originally written. Similarly there is a slight offset from the frame of folio 13^r in the upper left corner of folio 12^v, and from the inscription in red at the top of folio 12^v onto folio 13^r. The ink of the addition on folio 14^r originally blotted on folio 13^v in the lower left-hand corner; this confirms that these pages were bound in the present order when the addition was written in 1399.¹⁰

Most of the illustrations fit logically into a systematic Christological cycle, from the Annunciation to Zacharias on folio 3^v to Pentecost on folio 14^v, thus confirming in general the present order of binding. There are two logical prefatory illustrations: the Virgin and Child, of the Hodegetria type, on folio 1^v and the standing figures of Eusebius and Ammonius on folio 2^r; the former serves as a sort of commemorative image for the whole book while the latter refers specifically to the epistle of Eusebius which follows on folios 2^v and 3^r. The four evangelists, portrayed on folios 9^v and 10^r, interrupt the sequence of scenes from the ministry of Christ, but there can be no doubt of their deliberate location on these pages, for they are the logical culmination of the sequence of Old Testament figures which appears at the tops of folios 3^v to 9^r.

There are, however, two anomalies. The first illustration, on folio 1^r (fig. 1), shows the very rarely represented scene of the Selection of Matthias as the twelfth Apostle (Acts 1:15–26), an event which took place between the Ascension and Pentecost. On folio 14^r, precisely where the Selection of Matthias would logically fit, we find the other anomaly. Instead of a narrative scene there is an image of Christ enthroned, approached by four men, two of them presenting books with veiled hands and two of them serving as sponsors (fig. 2). The sponsor at the left wears a specifically monastic garment with a hood, and all the figures may be interpreted as monks. Very likely the two figures in the foreground should be identified as members of the monastery at

⁹ Stefano E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae Codicum Mss. Orientalium Catalogus* (Florence, 1742), 18.

¹⁰ This addition in Karshūnī was not studied by Assemani. I am specially grateful to George Saliba of the Department of Near Eastern Languages, University of California, Berkeley, who very kindly deciphered this damaged passage and found the date 1710 “of Alexander the Greek” (i.e., A.D. 1399).

Beth Zagba, offering their dedications to Christ, perhaps offering this very book, under the sponsorship of two patron saints.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to move folio 14^r, as many an art historian has hoped to do, without moving folio 14^v. And the condition of the margins of folio 14 does not permit the postulate that the present recto was originally the verso.¹¹ The physical reconstruction of the first gathering, as given above, is as certain as anything of the sort can be. Faced with an anomaly such as this arrangement of illustrations, art historians usually seek an ingenious rationalization showing the subtle logic of the peculiarity. In this instance, however, I believe there is a simpler explanation: the artist made a mistake.

Stylistic qualities and iconographic details such as the facial type used for Christ make it obvious that the artist was using different models for different parts of the cycle; from this point of view the illustrations on folio 13 contrast markedly with those on folio 14, and the Selection of Matthias on folio 1^r corresponds generally with the latter. More specifically, the Dedication miniature on folio 14^r and the Selection of Matthias are the only two in the entire book with comparable architectural frames for scenes which require a coherent spatial setting. I believe the artist was supposed to execute the Selection of Matthias on folio 14^r and the Dedication on folio 1^r,¹² but that while working on the leaves, presumably unfolded and separated, he confused his models.¹³ If we imagine that the arrangement originally intended was what I propose, we realize that it is entirely logical, proceeding from a specific dedication miniature to a more generalized commemorative miniature of the Virgin and Child, to the illustrations naturally associated with canon tables, including a full Christological cycle in logical order.

Now, to return to the question of the date of the miniatures. The Abbé Leroy has emphasized the fact that the long colophon on folio 292 makes no specific mention of the miniatures, and he, therefore, concludes that the mini-

¹¹ There are indications of old sewing along the inner edge of folio 14 clearly visible on the verso as presently bound, and the width of the inner margin is normal for this manuscript, while the outer margin has been trimmed severely. If despite these indications one postulates with Leroy (*op. cit.*, 160, 196) that folio 14 was originally reversed, then the hair side would have been the recto and the leaf must have stood in the first half of its gathering; it cannot have been part of the gathering following the canon tables since the text missing in Matthew would exactly fill the two missing bifolios, as already explained. Nor would it make any sense to move folio 14 to the front of the book, before the canon tables, since Pentecost would then precede the rest of the cycle.

¹² The Selection of Matthias should not be considered an addition to an originally blank page at the front of the book (Leroy, *op. cit.*, 160, 196) since it is entirely compatible with the other illumination in technique and style of execution, and since that page need not have been left blank originally because there were two blank leaves in front of it.

¹³ If more than one painter was involved, and the work was divided up and carried out simultaneously, it is easy to see how such a mistake could remain undetected until too late. On the other hand, previous attempts to divide the miniatures among various hands (as Leroy, *op. cit.*, 193-95) seem to me inadequate because they do not distinguish systematically between stylistic features or specific motifs which may be due to different models and those which may be considered characteristic of a given painter. I believe the question deserves further study. For a fully documented instance of dividing the work of illustrating a Byzantine manuscript among different artists in a workshop, who worked simultaneously, each normally doing all the illustrations on a given bifolium, see Ihor Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16 (1962), 245-76.

atures were a separate undertaking. In fact, the colophon gives us remarkably little specific information about the making of the book. The scribe Rabbula wrote the colophon in 586, but it is not clear how much else he did. The essential passages of the colophon may be translated:¹⁴

Glory to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and at all times and in eternity, amen, who conferred strength upon his sinful servant, humble and despised Rabbula, the scribe, and he [thereby] wrote. . . .

This book has been written and finished in the holy convent of Beth Mar Yohannan of Beth Zagba in the days of the lover of God Sergius, presbyter and abbot of this convent. . . .

Whoever reads this book may he pray also for those who are chaste, God-loving and worthy of remembrance, John (presbyter of this convent, from Larbik) and John (deacon, from Aynata) who have gone out of this world and migrated to Our Lord, through whose work and hands there came about the beginning of these books; also for the renowned Christopher (anchorite) and Martyrios (presbyter, of this convent) and the well-born Mar Damian (scribe/learned in law, from Beth Perotagin) who took pains and perfected [the work] after them; and [who] have put in order, collated, bound, and deposited these books in the monastery of Beth Mar Yohannan of Beth Zagba. . . .

Rabbula credits a certain priest John and a certain deacon John, both of them deceased, with beginning the book, but it is not clear exactly what they did. It would be possible to interpret the phrase translated "there came about the beginning of these books" to mean that prefatory material such as the canon tables was executed, but this is rather unlikely. Of his own contribution Rabbula "the scribe" says only that he wrote by virtue of the strength God conferred on him. Then he credits the completion to a certain anchorite Christopher, a certain priest Martyrios, and a certain Damian, who is given the honorific title "Mar" (approximately *Dominus*) and is described with a word that can mean either "scribe" or "learned in law" (*nomiqâ* from νομικός). The enumeration of the final steps they undertook appears to include putting the gatherings in order, collating the text against another manuscript (possibly the work of Damian?), and binding the book. Many of the words used here permit of more than one translation and the meaning is not precisely clear in

¹⁴ Leroy (*op. cit.*, 155–57, 160) gives a full translation of the colophon and a brief commentary; cf. also *idem*, "L'auteur des miniatures du manuscrit syriaque de Florence, Plut. I, 56, *Codex Rabulensis*," *Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1954), 278–83. Furlani (*op. cit.*, 19–20) gives a cautious transcription and partial translation. Assemani, *op. cit.*, gives a transcription (appendix, p. xxvii) and a Latin translation (p. 13). The only published reproduction (Macler, *op. cit.*, figs. 7 and 8) is grossly inadequate. The translation I give uses those previously published but seeks to reflect the Syriac as literally as possible. For most generous help in this undertaking I am specially grateful to Prof. Ariel Bloch of the Department of Near Eastern Languages, University of California, Berkeley, who found several mistakes in earlier translations and gave me extremely valuable advice on the range of meaning possible in the crucial passages.

any case. If there is nothing that specifically and necessarily refers to the miniatures,¹⁵ there is certainly nothing that excludes them.

In fact, early mediaeval colophons do not normally mention any illumination. The few exceptions Leroy cites are of an entirely different kind, short pious invocations on behalf of the illuminator placed by a cross he has painted.¹⁶ To compare a famous western colophon which has a purpose similar to Rabbula's consider the colophon of the Lindisfarne Gospels:¹⁷ although written by the tenth-century glossator it records a reliable tradition that Bishop Eadfrith wrote the book at the end of the seventh century, that his successor Bishop Ethiluald bound it, and that a certain anchorite Billfrith decorated the binding with gold and gems. There is no mention of the illumination which makes it today one of the most famous of all mediaeval books. We must avoid the anachronism of imposing our modern interests upon the mediaeval beholder.

The physical analysis of the manuscript is conclusive. The parchment is of good quality for the period and region but is not the equal of the finest late antique books, such as the Vatican Vergil. It is relatively thick and stiff, and, although prepared in essentially the same way, it is subject to greater variation in smoothness on the hair side; both sides are normally quite white and the flesh side always has a characteristic fine craquelure. There can be no doubt that the first gathering consists of the same type of parchment as the rest,¹⁸ but this does not require that it was executed at the same time. The size of the leaves is consistent, although much trimmed and worn.¹⁹ The Abbé Leroy emphasizes the difference in hand of the script of the Epistle of Eusebius (folios 2^v and 3^r) as compared with that of the main text and also emphasizes the irregular character of the script used in labels for the canon tables and illustrations,²⁰ but if these were executed by a painter they might well contrast with the work of other scribes. The enumeration of the gatherings begins with the first gathering of the text, omitting the gathering with canon tables and

¹⁵ It would be possible to suppose that the phrase in the anathema at the end of the colophon condemning anyone who "cuts from it some folio written or not written" might refer to the illustrations (as did René Dussaud in discussing Leroy's paper, *CRAI* [1954], 283) but it seems a very unlikely interpretation; cf. *supra*, note 8.

¹⁶ Leroy, "L'auteur des miniatures," 281–82.

¹⁷ Thomas D. Kendrick *et al.*, *Codex Lindisfarnensis*, II (Olten-Lausanne, 1960), 5, etc.

¹⁸ On this point I must record my complete disagreement with Ebersolt (*La miniature byzantine*, 81) based on my detailed examination of the entire manuscript. Leroy (*Les manuscrits syriaques*, 160) is more cautious on this point.

¹⁹ B. Botte, "Notes sur l'Evangélaire de Rabbula," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 36, 3–4 (1962), 13–26, claims that the canon tables cannot have been written for this text because the marginal illustrations have lost a significant amount from trimming while the text pages remain complete; the pages with canon tables must, therefore, have been originally wider than those with text. In fact, the canon tables appear to have been trimmed by about 2 cm. at the outer edge, and apparently have lost a little at the top and bottom also. It can be assumed that the text pages were planned with wide margins for such a luxury edition, and there is nothing discordant in the indicated proportions. Botte also objects that canon tables would be unnecessary for this book because there are references to other Gospels at the bottom of the text pages; but this is a standard part of the textual apparatus of a Syriac Gospel book (cf. Pusey and Gwilliam, *Tetraevangelium Sanctum*, *passim*). It appears that Botte knows the manuscript only from publications.

²⁰ Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, 160; also *idem*, "L'auteur des miniatures," 282.

illumination, as normal in early Gospel books;²¹ this in no way implies the absence of a prefatory gathering.

On the other hand, normal practice required allowing for blank leaves at the beginning and end of a book, including at least the one at the front and the one at the back which would be pasted onto the inside of the covers.²² We have already seen that Rabbula deliberately planned for two blank leaves, a pastedown and a flyleaf, at the end of the book, and there should have been two at the beginning, as there were originally in the gathering of canon tables. Since the first gathering of text was a regular quinion with the text beginning on the first recto, it cannot have supplied the necessary blank leaves. The Rabbula Gospels must always have had some kind of prefatory gathering with at least one blank leaf at the front. Modern scholarship is in full agreement that iconographic and stylistic features of the surviving miniatures place them near the end of the sixth century. Therefore we must conclude that the gathering of parchment which originally consisted of sixteen folios, the first two blank and the rest illuminated, was an integral part of the book finished in 586. The objections raised by the Abbé Leroy are reasonable in the abstract, but collapse in the face of a detailed physical analysis and practical considerations of book production.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON THE ACCURACY OF THE FACSIMILE

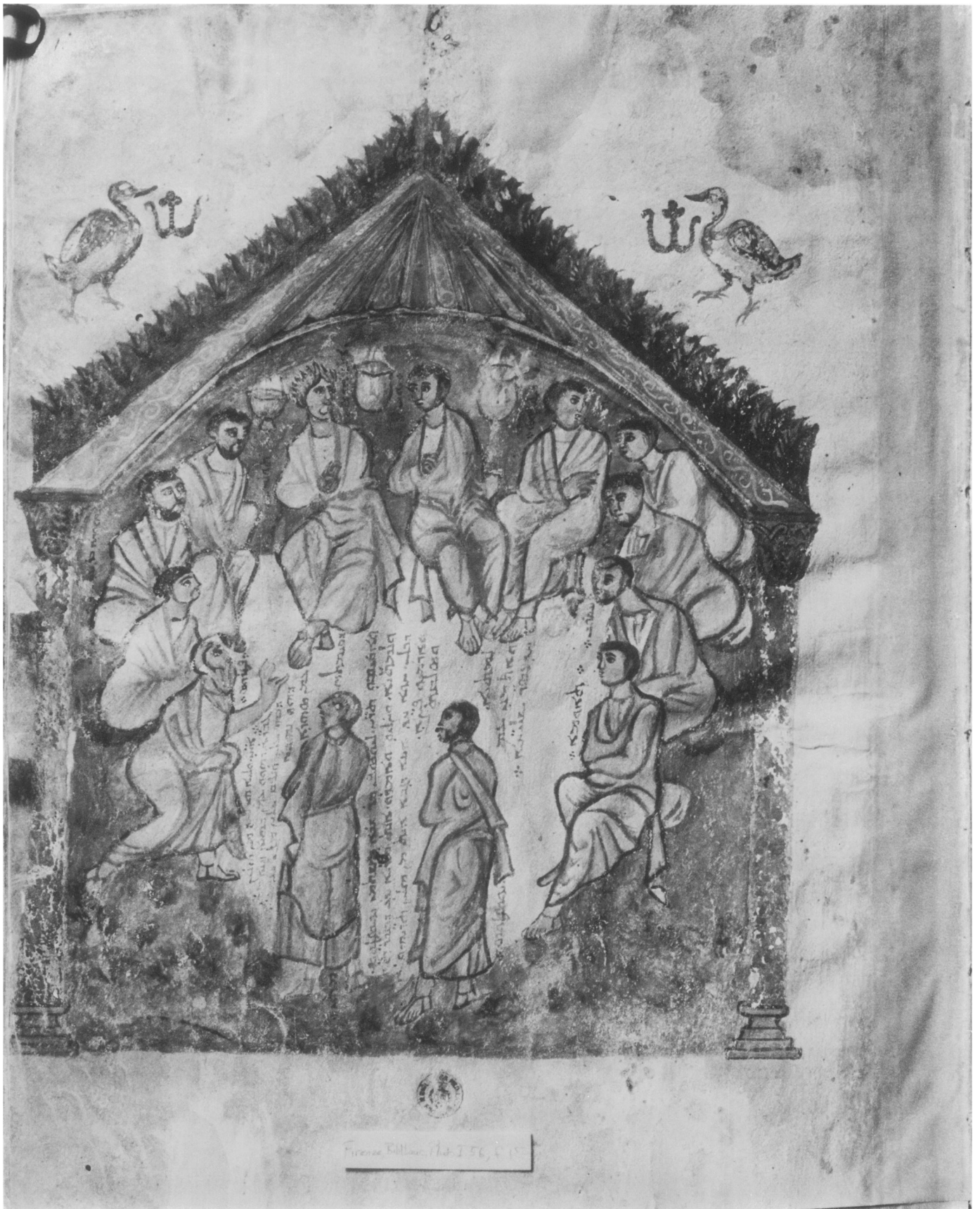
The plates published by the Urs Graf Verlag in 1959 are generally very good; indeed, this is one of the best postwar facsimiles. But the plates do tend to emphasize the yellow component too strongly, they are sometimes too harsh and contrasty, and they occasionally include other mistakes. The following notes are based on a careful comparison with the original manuscript.

- 1^r (Selection of Matthias): generally good, but slightly too yellow.
- 1^v (Virgin and Child): the color of the parchment is good but otherwise the yellows tend to be too hot and the gold too glaring in effect (particularly the gold in the tympanum); the blues are too dark and too saturated, and the faces are too pale.
- 2^r (Eusebius and Ammonius): generally good, but the contrast is a bit too strong.
- 2^v (epistle): parchment too yellow, color contrasts too harsh.
- 3^r (epistle): parchment good, color contrasts too harsh.
- 3^v (Annunciation to Zacharias, etc.): generally satisfactory, although somewhat too hot in effect (particularly in the green of the tympanum, which is actually cool and desaturated); the face of Moses has been badly retouched in the plate by the engraver, making certain outlines too harsh.

²¹ Patrick McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800*, Les Publications de Scriptorium, V (Paris-Brussels, 1961), 7–8, discusses Latin, Greek, and Armenian examples. Cf. also Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, 160 and note 2.

²² C. T. Lamacraft, "Early Book-bindings from a Coptic Monastery," *The Library*, Ser. 4, vol. 20 (1939), 214–33, particularly 218, 227, 232; Berthe van Regemorter, "Evolution de la technique de la reliure du VIII^e au XII^e siècle," *Scriptorium*, 2 (1948), 275–85, particularly 278; Theodore C. Petersen, "Early Islamic Bookbindings and their Coptic Relations," *Ars Orientalis*, 1 (1954), 41–64, particularly 42; Roger Powell, "The Stonyhurst Gospel, the Binding," in *The Relics of St. Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford, 1956), 362–74, particularly 364.

- 4^r (Annunciation, etc.): generally good, but the robe of the Virgin is too violet and the orange and pink areas behind her are too saturated; the face of Samuel is reproduced too dark but has not been redrawn in the plate.
- 4^v (Nativity, etc.): too harsh in general effect; the hues are mostly accurate, but the colors tend to be too saturated, and thereby to contrast too strongly.
- 5^r (Marriage at Cana, etc.): too harsh in general effect, colors generally too saturated and too contrasty; yellows too strong.
- 5^v (Christ and the Woman with an Issue of Blood, etc.): too harsh and contrasty in general effect; yellows much too strong (particularly in the tympanum and in the green of Amos at the upper right).
- 6^r (Christ and the Samaritan Woman, etc.): generally satisfactory, but color contrasts too strong in the scene of Christ and the woman bent over, and in Micah (at the upper left); the firm brown outline of the deer at the lower right has been misprinted.
- 6^v (Raising of the Daughter of Jairus? etc.): satisfactory, except that the greens are too yellow, especially in the tympanum.
- 7^r (Transfiguration, etc.): color contrasts too harsh, with dark tones insufficiently separated; surviving part of the Transfiguration scene (at the left) too faint.
- 7^v (Christ and the Blind Man? etc.): too harsh in contrast and too hot in color effect, but not as bad as some other pages with this problem; greens tend to be too yellow.
- 8^r (incomplete scene with Christ, etc.): satisfactory, if slightly harsh in contrast.
- 8^v (Christ Healing the Possessed, etc.): too harsh in color contrasts; the robe of Daniel (at the upper left) should be red-violet not vermillion; at the lower right the engraver has subdued by retouching the offsets of dark pigment from the columns on the opposite page.
- 9^r (Christ and St. Peter with the Fish, etc.): too contrasty in the dark tones though satisfactory in the light tones; the white streaks on the red robe of Christ are too weak and partly lost.
- 9^v (Matthew and John seated): slightly too harsh in contrast.
- 10^r (Mark and Luke standing): slightly too harsh in contrast, particularly in the faces and drawing of the figures.
- 10^v (Christ and the Centurion, etc.): satisfactory, but the dark blues are too dark and too saturated, and the white streaks on the robe of Christ are too weak, particularly at the right.
- 11^r (the Sick come to Christ): generally satisfactory, but slightly too yellow and the robe of Christ too dark.
- 11^v (Entry into Jerusalem, etc.): blues much too strong, especially in the robe of Christ (which should be gray-violet); reds are too saturated and greens slightly too yellow.
- 12^r (Arrest of Christ, etc.): too harsh in contrast; greens slightly too yellow.
- 12^v (Christ before Pilate): much too contrasty; the outlines of the capitals appear arbitrarily reinforced.
- 13^r (Crucifixion, etc.): much too harsh in contrast but generally accurate in hue; thus, in the Crucifixion scene the garment of Longinus should be a more subdued red, and the spatial effect of the landscape should be more apparent; many small losses of blue pigment in the distant mountains clumsily retouched by the engraver.
- 13^v (Ascension): somewhat too harsh, particularly in the reds, which tend to overwhelm areas that are really orange; the Virgin's garment should be lighter and less saturated; foreground much too green.
- 14^r (Dedication): somewhat too harsh; blues too strong and too dark; greens slightly too yellow.
- 14^v (Pentecost): too harsh in contrast; the Virgin too dark and too blue; her veil should be more violet.



1. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana. Rabbula Gospels, fol. 1r, Selection of Matthias



2. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana. Rabbula Gospels, fol. 14r, Dedication